

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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R 291622Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9344

INFO AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL OPORTO

AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA

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TAGS: PINT, PO

SUBJ: CAETANO REITERATES ESSENTIALS OF OVERSEAS POLICY

REF: LISBON 642 AND 848

SUMMARY: PM CAETANO, IN FIRST ADDRESS TO NATION SINCE
ABORTIVE MILITARY MUTINY TWO WEEKS AGO, WARNED PORTUGUESE
THAT SOCIETIES INEVITABLY REACT TO INDISCIPLINE AND ANARCHY
BY RECOURSE TO AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES, WHICH HE WOULD
NOT LIKE TO SEE IN PORTUGAL. CAETANO SIGNIFICANTLY
REFRAINED FROM CRITICISM OF SPINOLA AND HIS FEDERAL SOLUTION.
INSTEAD HE CRITICIZED ADVERSARIES FOR NOT GIVING THOUGHT
TO ANY SOLUTION SHORT OF OUTRIGHT SURRENDER. PM REITERATED
THAT IF ESSENCE OF PORTUGUESE CULTURE PRESERVED, AND IF
WHITES ALLOWED TO LIVE AND WORK IN AFRICA, THEN PORTUGAL
WILLING TO SEEK "POSSIBLE AND JUST FORMULAS" FOR
EVOLUTION OF OVERSEAS PROVINCES. END SUMMARY

1. PM CAETANO ADDRESSED NATION FOR 20 MINUTES
EVENING MARCH 28 IN FIRST "FIRESIDE CHAT" THIS YEAR.
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SPEECH CARRIED LIVE ON TELEVISION AND RADIO, AND ON

FRONT PAGES MORNING NEWSPAPERS MARCH 29.

2. CAETANO, AS IN OTHER RECENT SPEECHES (REFTELS), ASSERTED PORTUGAL BESIEGED BY HOSTILE, ANARCHIST WORLD. WAVE OF EGOISM SWEEPING HUMANITY IS SPLITTING FAMILIES, ARMIES, AND NATIONS EVERYWHERE, CREATING IN PROCESS A MENTAL STATE LEADING EVER CLOSER TO ANARCHY. IN OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO RECENT PORTUGUESE DISORDERS, PM WARNED THAT INEVITABLE REACTION TO ANARCHISM WILL LAMENTABLY BE "IRON AUTHORITARIAN REGIME."

3. MOST OF SPEECH DEALT WITH OVERSEAS POLICY. NATION, ASSERTED PM, HAS REFUSED TO ABANDON ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, WHICH SHE FOUNDED, PEOPLED, AND MADE INTO WHAT THEY ARE TODAY: PORTUGAL DOES NOT DEFEND HER OVERSEAS PROVINCES FOR ECONOMIC REASONS (HE SAID SUCH ARGUMENTS HURT HIM DEEPLY), AND BESIDES BUSINESS TRADITIONALLY KNOWS HOW TO FEND FOR ITSELF AND ALWAYS FINDS WAYS TO LIVE WITH WHOMEVER RULES.

4. RATHER, SAID CAETANO, PORTUGUESE POLICY BASED ON DEFENSE OF PERSONS OF ANY RACE WHO CHOOSE REMAIN PORTUGUESE; ON PRINCIPLE THAT CONTINENTS ARE NOT RESERVED FOR ANY SPECIFIC RACE; AND ON RIGHT WHITES STAY IN AFRICA AND PARTICIPATE IN GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION. PORTUGUESE CAUSE IS JUST, AND HER SOLDIERS SHOULD BE PROUD TO FIGHT FOR THESE PRINCIPLES.

5. PM SAID INTERNATIONAL HOSTILE REACTION TO SPINOLA'S BOOK (WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS "AN ANALYSIS OF OUR POSITION, REGARDING THE OVERSEAS PROBLEM") SHOWS OPPONENTS WILL ACCEPT NOTHING BUT SIMPLE PORTUGUESE ABANDONMENT OF OVERSEAS PROVINCES TO TERRORIST GROUPS. INTERNATIONAL PRESS AND NATION'S ADVERSARIES, HE LAMENTED, PUBLICIZE ONLY THAT PART OF BOOK WHICH SUITS THEIR INTERESTS, SIMULTANEOUSLY REPUDIATING OTHER SOLUTIONS ADVANCED. IN US'S COMMITTEE OF 24, SOLUTIONS FOR OVERSEAS PROVINCES SHORT OF OUTRIGHT SURRENDER HAVE BEEN REPEATEDLY REJECTED. IN US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, CONGRESSMAN DIGGS CLEARLY HAS AFFIRMED THAT FEDERAL SOLUTION "WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED BY THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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UNITED STATES OR AFRICAN COUNTRIES."

6 MANY FOREIGNERS HOPE TO SEE PORTUGUESE HOME FRONT COLLAPSE, AND HENCE THEY ENTHUSIASTICALLY FOLLOWED MID-MARCH "MILITARY EPISODE" (WHOSE LEADERS HE CHARACTERIZED AS "THOUGHTLESS" AND "INGENUOUS"). THEY HAVE BLOWN THESE EVENTS FAR OUT OF PROPORTION, INVENTED GREAT PERSONALITY CONFLICTS WHICH DO NOT EXIST, SEEN INTERNAL DISSENSION

WHERE IN FACT HARMONY REIGNS, AND COME TO FALSE CONCLUSIONS WHEN POSITIONS HAVE BEEN CLEARLY DEFINED. REFERRING TO COMPLAINTS OF LACK OF NEWS, CAETANO WARNED AGAINST RUMORS AND LOOSE TALK, AND SAID PRESS SPECULATION ONLY AIDS THE ENEMY.

7. PORTUGAL, PROMISED CAETANO IN CONCLUSION, WILL NOT ABANDON PEOPLE WHO HAVE SHOWN THEY WANT TO CONTINUE TO BE PORTUGUESE. PORTUGAL WILL "SEEK JUST AND POSSIBLE FORMULAS FOR THE OVERSEAS PROVINCES, IN ACCORD WITH THE PROGRESS MADE BY EACH AND WORLD CIRCUMSTANCES: BUT WITH ONE CONDITION, THAT PORTUGUESE AFRICA CONTINUE TO HAVE A PORTUGUESE SOUL, AND THAT IN IT THOSE WHO ARE HONORED AND PROUD TO BE PORTUGUESE BE ALLOWED TO LIVE AND WORK."

8. COMMENT: (A) IN SPEECH CAETANO MADE FIRST PUBLIC COMMENT ON SPINOLA'S BOOK AND ON RECENT ABORTIVE MILITARY REVOLT. SIGNIFICANTLY, NO CRITICISM WAS LEVELED AT BOOK. IN FACT, CRITICISM DIRECTED TO FOREIGNERS WHO REFUSE TO CONSIDER FEDERAL SOLUTION ADVANCED IN BOOK IMPLIES PM'S IDENTIFICATION WITH AT LEAST THAT PORTION OF SPINOLA'S THESIS.

(B) PM, UNDER INCREASING PRESSURE FROM RIGHT-WING, FELT NEED TO CAUTION POPULACE THAT UNREST AT HOME, AND MORE MILITARY ADVENTURES LIKE CALDAS DA RAINHA, WILL STRENGTHEN HAND OF THOSE FAVORING MORE AUTHORITARIAN REGIME, WHICH, HE SAID, ONCE ENTRENCHED WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO REMOVE. CAETANO'S CHARACTERIZATION OF MILITARY REBELS AS "THOUGHTLESS AND INGENUOUS" SURPRISINGLY MILD, AND PROBABLY RESULTS FROM NEED NOT TO EXACERBATE FURTHER DIVISIONS IN MILITARY. (RIGHT-WING HARDLINERS, HOWEVER, UNLIKELY TO BE SATISFIED WITH PM'S REFERENCES TO SPINOLA AND MILITARY AND WILL CONTINUE PRESSURE ON PM.) LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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